



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF RELIGION.

IN the discussions of religion, whether technical or popular, one frequently comes upon expressions such as the religious nature of man, the religious sense, the religious impulse, the religious instinct. But upon careful analysis, it is exceedingly difficult to discover that any of these expressions are used with precision or consistency. In this respect the professional psychologists are scarcely more satisfactory than the theologians. The tendency, however, of the psychologists is to establish a definition of terms which simplifies the task of determining whether religion is to be described by these terms. For example, it is clear that religion cannot be ascribed to any unique faculty for the simple reason that modern psychology does not recognize the existence of unique faculties of any kind. Neither can it be called a "sense," for the term sense is limited to those organic functions which are known as the sense of sight, hearing, pressure, temperature, and the rest. In the same way the words impulse and instinct are gradually attaining a specific usage which in the nature of the case precludes their application to religion. Both impulse and instinct are employed more and more to signify motor reactions; impulse indicating the dynamic, spontaneous character of an act, and instinct referring also to the organization of movements in the attainment of definite ends or in manifesting characteristic attitudes, such as fear. Thus the random movements of the infant express impulses, but grasping and sucking are usually classed as instincts. Certainly religion is not a motor reaction of this type.

The phrase religious consciousness seems more promising, but this is largely because the word consciousness is inclusive enough and sufficiently flexible to escape the objections made against the other terms. Whatever else religion may be, it is some form of consciousness. This is the most general term which psychology employs, and therefore to speak of the religious consciousness puts the whole burden back upon the adjective religious, and we scarcely get nearer a solution of the problem than before, except that we have a designation for our subject which is not beset by conflicting or confusing usage. The question is then, What is the psychological basis and nature of the religious consciousness?

It may add force to the question to recall that for functional psychology there is an indefinite variety of types of consciousness—art consciousness, scientific consciousness, civic consciousness, masculine consciousness, feminine consciousness, race consciousness, class consciousness. Each profession, trade, locality, family, or other group having common interests tends to develop a consciousness in which every member shares more or less keenly. One feels the reality and force of these different kinds of consciousness as one converses with men who possess them, men of different professions and persons from different sections of the country. Or, again, one immediately experiences for himself the contrasted mental attitudes and psychical functions when, in the course of the day, he goes from his study to the dining-room, to the tennis court, to the business street, to the hospital, to the concert, to the place of worship. All these forms of consciousness are definite and describable, and one is as real and as tangible as another. They are manifestations of interests, of habits, of customs. We never doubt their reality as genuine experiences, and we do not question that activities which we only observe, without actively sharing,

involve definite forms of consciousness for those engaged in them. Because I do not play golf, I cannot deny that there is such a thing as golf consciousness in those I observe pounding the white balls over the green turf on a torrid day or eagerly discussing at dinner the drives and fozzles of their afternoon sport. This golf consciousness is something in its own right. It is different from tennis consciousness or bridge consciousness. It develops its own social institutions, its heroes, its literature, its code of etiquette, its advocates, its apologists, and its fanatics. Taken in some such objective way, the religious consciousness is obviously a tremendous reality in all races and peoples. It is represented everywhere by ceremonials, temples, sacred places, priests, traditions, saints and sages.

The definitions of this religious consciousness are notoriously various and partial. They represent special phases or stages of religious experience. In intellectual terms it is identified with the belief in spirits, in the supernatural, in the infinite; in terms of feeling, it is an emotion, the feeling of dependence, the feeling of fear; in terms of the will it is a set of desires and of organized habits. This diversity, representing different philosophical and temperamental standpoints, has led Höffding to assert that the definition of religion is largely a matter of taste.

The statement offered here is, therefore, presented only as a working suggestion to indicate at once the general point of view and something of the scope of the religious consciousness. First, religion, or the religious consciousness, expresses man's craving for life and attaches supreme importance to those objects and activities upon which the maintenance and furtherance of his life depend; second, the religious consciousness is social in its nature, involving the welfare of the group and enveloping the mind and will of the individual in a body of inherited custom. The elaboration of these two propositions will show

more fully what they signify. It will be convenient to draw illustrations from primitive as well as developed forms of religion. Use is made of primitive religions in this connection because in them the phenomena are simpler and are less complicated by the overgrowths and divergent interests of civilization. Besides, the evolution of the higher types of religion from these earlier stages is so obvious to the student of the history of society that he sees in the general structure and framework of primitive religion the main features of the later growths.

Take, then, the first proposition that the religious consciousness expresses man's craving for life and attaches supreme importance to those objects and activities upon which the maintenance and furtherance of his life are felt to depend. The most casual observer of religious phenomena must be impressed with the fact that religion takes itself with the utmost seriousness. It regards its practices and customs as matters involving the very sources and conditions of life. Throughout the Bible, which in this respect expresses the keynote of religion everywhere, the assurance is that those who do the things enjoined shall live and prosper, while those who refuse or neglect to do them shall surely die.

After the law of the ten commandments the injunction is added: "Ye shall walk in all the way which the Lord your God hath commanded you, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may prolong your days in the land which ye shall possess. Hear therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord, the God of thy fathers, hath promised unto thee, in a land flowing with milk and honey." There are also many passages like the following: "Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed. Delight thy-

self also in the Lord; and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart."

Religion is thus an expression of the most elemental demand of the human **being**—the demand for existence, for welfare, for success. It exalts those functions, habits, objects, and customs which are felt to further life and warns against whatever threatens it. Religion is identical with the central biological impulse; with the will to live, to affirm, to grow. It is natural, therefore, that the basal instincts of human nature should be conspicuous and controlling factors in religion, and the evidence is abundant that this is the case. This is particularly clear in primitive races where the fundamental instinctive reactions are preserved in the ceremonials without qualification or apology. The instinctive reactions are those involved in preserving, perpetuating, and protecting life. They are the instincts of getting food, of reproduction, and of resisting and escaping danger.

The ceremonials are in large part the reproduction of actions and situations experienced in the actual life of food getting, courtship and war. If a people has totems, those totems are the familiar animals and plants of the environment. They are or have been the staples of food, of subsistence. The totems of Australia and of North America are the commonplace necessities of life in those countries. And the ceremonial of the totem, whether of fish or flower, consists of dancing and mimetic movements typical of the habits of the species. The leader usually wears a head gear and his body is painted to make him resemble the totem.

Spencer and Gillen give the following description of the initiation ceremony of the eagle-hawk totem in Central Australia. It was performed by two men, supposed to be two eagle-hawks quarreling over a piece of flesh, represented by the downy mass in one man's mouth. "At first

they remained squatting on their shields, moving their arms up and down, and continuing this action which was supposed to represent the flapping of wings, they jumped off the shields and with their bodies bent up and arms extended and flapping, began circling round each other as if each were afraid of coming to close quarters. Then they stopped and moved a step or two at a time, first to one side and then to the other, until finally they came to close quarters and began fighting with their heads for the possession of the piece of meat. This went on for some time, and then two men stepped out from amongst the audience and took away the Churinga (sacred sticks used in the head dress) which were a great weight and must have caused a considerable strain on the head, especially in the great heat of the afternoon sun, for it must be remembered that it was now well on into the summer. Then once more they began going round and round each other flapping wings, jumping up and falling back just like fighting birds, until finally they again came to close quarters, and the attacking man at length seized with his teeth the piece of meat and wrenched it out of the other man's mouth."¹

The ceremony of the plum-tree totem was acted by four men in the following way. "First of all one man came up to where the audience was sitting by the *Parra* (a mound of earth). He pretended to knock plums down and to eat them, and after a short time he sat down amongst the audience. Then two others came up, one of whom remained standing, while he knocked down imaginary plums, which were eaten by the other man, who seated himself on the ground. This over, both of the men went and joined the audience, and the fourth man came and went through the same pretence of knocking down and eating plums."²

¹ Spencer and Gillen: *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 296.

² Spencer and Gillen, *Ibid.*, p. 320.

The ceremonials of all peoples are of this general type: they reflect the occupations, the life struggles and the central satisfactions of mankind. Rice is the staff of life to the Malays, and their rites are replicas of the habits developed in its cultivation and use. The Eskimos live largely by seal and fish, and the activities involved in their capture and use are models of their rituals. In similar ways, the planting, harvesting and preparation of the maize by the American Indians, the digging of yams by the West Africans, the use of the date palm by the Arabs, determine the forms of their religious celebrations. Every great interest of a people is reflected in its religion, and where the religion is indigenous and uncorrupted, no extraneous elements enter. "There are no tiger-gods where there are no tigers," and no rice-gods where there is no rice. Mingling of races, conquest and decadence may obscure this basic fact, but in undisturbed native peoples the general principle is clear. Even in mixed and migratory tribes the persistence of the framework of old rites and myths gives it confirmation.

The Todas, a small tribe in the Nilgiri Hills of southern India, furnish a striking illustration of the economic determination of religion.

"The milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial. The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and cere-

monies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.”³

The Semites were originally nomadic, and this accounts for the conspicuous place which animals hold throughout their religion. “The main lines of sacrificial worship were fixed before any part of the Semitic stock had learned agriculture and adopted cereal food as its ordinary diet.” Therefore cereals and fruits never had more than a secondary place in Semitic ritual, but those which were most conspicuous in religious ceremonies, “were also the chief vegetable constituents of man’s daily food,” namely, meal, wine, and oil.⁴

The instincts centering in the sexual life are in certain respects more focal and dominant in religion than those of food. In these instincts the life of the species is involved. The individual asserts here a will greater than his own. The supreme demand of nature is for the new generation. Throughout the whole scale of life the event safeguarded by the most urgent impulses is that of procreation. When that is accomplished, the parent is of value only in protecting and nurturing the young. Nature demands every risk, every effort to effect the creation and to provide for the welfare of the new generation. Religion, as the deepest and most comprehensive expression of the will to live, is therefore an embodiment, in more or less direct and obvious ways, of the sexual instinct. One of the immediate, objective proofs of this is the fact that the crises of the sexual life are among the most conspicuous occasions of religious ceremonials. These occur at puberty, at marriage, and at childbirth. In primitive races, at puberty, when the sexual instinct appears, the youth is started through the long and trying initiation rites which are not complete until he is a member of the tribe. Again, at the

³ W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 38.

⁴ W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 219, 222. Cf. Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, Chapter VII, “Yahwe.”

time of marriage, elaborate ceremonies are observed to remove the taboos between the sexes, and to insure the fruitfulness of the union. The bride and groom are accompanied by processions to ward off evil influences. Nuts, flour or rice may be thrown upon them. Various means of concealment are employed to thwart the evil eye. For this, disguises and veils are employed, and in many countries, the bridegroom never sees the bride until the marriage is consummated. Obligatory customs are also universal with reference to childbirth. The newborn child and the mother are taboo and are secluded from the camp until a period of time has elapsed during which the prescribed observances must be faithfully kept. One scarcely needs to refer to the perversions and exaggerations of this sex principle which have often characterized religious customs. The extent of Phallic worship and sacred harlotry are, however, evidences of the fact that religion has been liable to abnormal developments through elements native to it.

In these two respects, then, religion shows itself to be the manifestation of the affirmation and consecration of life: the chief objects of food and the activities concerned with them are sacred and so also are the organs and the functions of sex.

The second proposition is that the religious consciousness is social in its nature and concerns the welfare of the group. Here, again, the fact is clearly illustrated in primitive peoples. Their solidarity within the tribal group is well understood. It was not a consciously attained and rationally sustained social life, but it was so real that every important concern was an affair of the group. So close and so literal was this tribal organism that the whole of it was involved in the deeds of every individual. This is familiarly illustrated by the law of blood revenge, by which the whole tribe was held responsible for the misdeeds of any member. Dudley Kidd characterizes this solidarity

among the Kafirs as follows: "A Kafir feels that the 'frame that binds him in' extends to the clan. The sense of solidarity of the family in Europe is thin and feeble compared to the full-blooded sense of corporate union of the Kafir clan. The claims of the clan entirely swamp the rights of the individual. The system of tribal solidarity, which has worked so well in its smoothness that it might satisfy the utmost dreams of the socialist, is a standing proof of the sense of corporate union of the clan. In olden days a man did not have any feeling of personal injury when a chief made him work for white men and then told him to give all or nearly all, of his wages to his chief; the money was kept within the clan, and what was the good of the clan was the good of the individual and *vice versa*."

Religion is the supreme expression of this social consciousness. All of its ceremonials are corporate in character, being conducted either by the group as a whole or by publicly recognized leaders. These ceremonials are social also in a deeper sense than being the possession of all the existing members of the tribe. They have an immemorial history and are felt to be shared by the ancestors as well as by the living. They are therefore in the highest degree inviolable. The welfare and efficiency of the tribe are bound up with the scrupulous and reverent observance of the ancient rites. The individual who participates in them does not dare to speak of them or to employ their myths and prayers except in the manner and on the occasions which the group customs allow. The things with which the religious ceremonials deal are, as we have seen, the things of common concern, such as the food supply, the regulation of marriage and the care of children, the conduct of war, protection against disease, and unusual natural events like floods and drought. An interesting evidence of the social character of religion is seen in the fact that the recognized deities are those spirits which are identified

with an organized human group. William Robertson Smith points out that "the difference between gods and demons among primitive Semitic peoples lies not in their nature and power, . . . but in their relations to man. The jinn would make very passable gods, if they only had a circle of human dependents and worshipers; and conversely a god who loses his worshipers falls back into the ranks of the demons, as a being of vague and indeterminate powers, who having no fixed personal relations to men, is on the whole to be regarded as an enemy" (p. 121). The same relation is seen in other stages of development. For example, the great gods embody the qualities of character which have been most completely established in the common social experience. The lesser gods represent local or intermittent, partially organized interests of the common mind.

On the inner psychological side this social character of the religious consciousness is identical with the neighborly sympathetic attitude. It springs up quite naturally in any group which has common experiences and whose members are mutually dependent. It has its most original and primary development in the family. Now the inmost bond of the family life is that which exists between the mother and the child. It is this which has given stability and consistency to the family and resulted in the permanence of the relation between the parents. Instead of the care of the child resulting from the permanence of relations between parents, it is probable that the parents were held together by the care of the child. It was originally the conditions under which woman was compelled to live while caring for the child which made her peculiarly the center of the social attitude and enabled her to foster and radiate the social atmosphere. On this account early society grew up around the mother and the child. This is shown in the fact that descent is first reckoned in the

female line. The children belong to the mother's family and not to the father's. The husband gave up his own people and went to live with the family of the bride. More than this, woman became through her settled life the creator and owner of property. In this way she exerted control over the social situation, and the feminine quality of sympathy and love became the chief element of the constructive social consciousness.

This social consciousness is, after all, the organizing, controlling power in human life. It maintains its continuity through successive generations. It molds all docile individuals to its will, and crushes or excludes those who will not conform. The newborn child is submitted to its authority and is closely held within its prescribed customs through life. It has the force of external law and of final authority. This will of the group is objectified in agents regarded as over and above the group itself. They embody the sacredness, permanence and legislative sanctions of the abiding social consciousness. This common consciousness, expressed in vivid sensuous symbols, it may be, of totem animals, or of great personalities, and in dramatic ceremonies, is constantly renewed and strengthened in the most vital experiences of the group. All of the interests and values of life are felt to center in the tribal symbols, the ceremonial observances. All the arts of speech, music, personal decoration, and the dance are contributing elements in the ceremonial. There is no art or knowledge, law or labor, known to the age which is not comprehended in the religious observances. In primitive peoples none of these interests exists independently. Life is of one piece and it is religious. It seeks for the great means of life and does so through the one organized will of the group. This social consciousness extends over the most private and seemingly individualistic activities. For example, among the natives of southeast Australia Howitt found that hun-

ters who kill game at a distance from the camp observe the strictest rules with reference to the distribution of the parts of the animal. Different regulations exist for different game, but all of them are minute and specific like the following rules for distributing the native bear: "Self, left ribs; father, right hind leg; mother, left hind leg; elder brother, right forearm; younger brother, left forearm. The elder sister gets the backbone, and the younger, the liver. The right ribs are given to the father's brother; a piece of the flank to the hunter's mother's brother; and the head goes to the young men's camp."

The religions of civilized peoples like those of primitive peoples have preserved the same general biological and social character. Their energizing impulses are those of the natural instinctive tendencies to maintain life, but with greater elaboration and idealization. In the teaching of Jesus it is assumed that the faithful will have their necessities providentially provided. Food and raiment are among the things conceived as fundamental in the demands of religion, and one must have faith in securing them, without worry or anxious care. The petition for the coming of the kingdom in the great prayer of Christendom is followed by the prayer for daily bread. Religion never gets away from this primal necessity, though it does take it up into an idealized and extended usage. It seeks the bread of life in the fullest sense. Food and drink are the materials of the communion service. This pervasive imagery drawn from the most elemental experiences of the natural man is unmistakable. The water of life, the fountain of life, the river of life, the tree of life are yet the most suggestive terms concerning even the highest needs of our human nature. What will a man give in exchange for his life? is the challenging cry. It is notable that the modern as well as the ancient religious consciousness is brought to sharp definition in great crises of famine, flood, pesti-

lence, and war in which the very existence of the people is endangered.

But it may not be so easily admitted that the reproductive instinct is vital in the religious consciousness. Here, however, there is much evidence of the objective kind embodied in our customs. Our religious practices, like those of earlier stages, are particularly in evidence at marriage, at childbirth, and at the time of puberty when the youth are confirmed or otherwise initiated into the group. The profound interest which the Christian community takes in children is an expression, however unconsciously it may be so, of the reproductive instinct.

The direct evidence, however, for considering the sex instinct basal in religion is the fact that the religious consciousness is attained naturally and simultaneously with the maturing of that instinct, and that certain of its manifestations appear directly and in a decisive manner at the heart of religious experience and religious customs.

That adolescence is the period in which religion becomes vital to the individual, all students of the subject agree. The results of the detailed investigations of thousands of cases by Starbuck, Coe and Hall confirm this. The universal practice of the liturgical churches in receiving youth as full members at this period is impressive evidence that this is the natural and normal time of religious awakening. The practice of the natural races in initiating their children at this epoch adds world-wide and world-old usage in support of the close relation of this instinct to the social attitude so characteristic of all religion.

Not only is adolescence the time when the reproductive instinct and religion develop in the individual, but there is evidence that religion arises in and through the maturing of the instinct taken in its full significance. Up to this time the individual is self-centered, and possesses little spontaneous or deep interest in other persons. His attitude

toward organized institutions and groups of people, even his own family, is characteristically external, formal, and fragmentary. But now he takes an interest in others, becomes affectionate, sensitive and sympathetic. The urgency, range, and reconstructive power of these attitudes cannot be accounted for by any instruction the youth receives. They are in fact quite independent of instruction and occur without it. The only explanation of the strength of these new interests is that they have an instinctive basis much deeper than the conscious will or intent of the individual. The transformation of adolescence is from an individualistic to a social life and the new psychological quality displayed is that of sensitiveness to the opinion of others—a sensitiveness which is most direct and characteristic with reference to the opinion of the opposite sex.

G. Stanley Hall has recounted in detail the development of adolescent self-consciousness in reference to the opinion of others. "The boy suddenly realizes that his shoes are not blacked, or his coat is worn and dirty, his hair unbrushed, his collar, necktie, or cap not of the latest pattern, while girls love to flaunt new fashions and color combinations and have a new sense for the toilet." Manners also afford opportunity for expression of the new self-consciousness and means of bidding for good opinion. There is pleasure in playing rôles, assuming poses, cultivating moods, modifying one's speech, in pronunciation, choice of words, and often in imitation of the vocabulary of favorite companions or teachers. Athletic feats, pride in physical development, trials of strength and absorbing interest in their 'records' characterize boys in this epoch. The emotions of anger, fear, and pity are intensified and relate to a much wider range of experiences, particularly to those of personal relations.

The youth in his teens is sensitive to the approval and disapproval of his companions to a degree which exceeds

any sensitivity due to reflection or to custom. Nothing but the operation of powerful instincts is sufficient to explain it, and that which distinguishes this period of youth pre-eminently is the appearance of the sex-instinct. With the ripening of this instinct, sensitivity to the opinion of others reaches its height. The normal individual is profoundly moved by his regard for the opinion of his set, that is, by the public opinion of his group. The seemingly heartless egoistic impulses of earlier years are restrained and tempered by eagerness to win favor and respect and by concern for the comfort and welfare of another. It is in the warmth and passion of this maturing instinct that the disposition of affection, social cooperation and genuine altruism develop. As at no previous time the individual feels an imperative, consuming passion to devote himself to another to the limit of his powers. No labor, danger, or sacrifice is too great to win the one he loves. This phenomenon affords endless material for poetry, fiction, and art. On the side of the difficulties encountered, jealousies engendered, and disappointments suffered, it is the theme of the drama and tragedy. In the common experience of average individuals, no other interest surpasses that which lovers feel in each other; and all people instinctively share this feeling with an intensity which permits no doubt that here is reenacted the most important event in the history of the individual and the race. It is through this affection and respect for the opposite sex that the whole complex system of social ends and institutions establishes its strongest hold upon the individual. Through it the individual is socialized and becomes identified with the welfare of others by his own inmost desire. In this way the home is established. To maintain the home, the shop and various industries exist. Schools are organized for the training of the children, and the state springs up in the coordination and control of all these interdependent interests. One is

thus placed in the midst of the vast social order of the material and ideal activities of mankind. His life is thereby disciplined, moralized and spiritualized.

It is this regard for the opinion of others which makes one amenable to the customs of society and brings one into relation and cooperation with the conventions, fashions, duties and ideals of society. Without this susceptibility to the opinions and example of others a person is lacking in the essential quality of sociability. He is unresponsive to class restraints and stimuli, and shares to a degree the irresponsible and antisocial attitude of the criminal. The sexual instinct, normally operative, radiates this sympathetic, unifying disposition and produces groups characterized by intimate association and mutual support. It is the foundation of the notable gregariousness of mankind. As it gives rise to larger groups, it becomes idealized in the relations of blood brotherhood among savages and in the societies of fellowship and practical endeavor among civilized peoples.

The influence of the sexual instinct in developed social groups is further seen in the fact that these groups continue to employ the technique of the sexual life. They appeal to the individual much after the method of courtship, and he is moved to respond by similar reactions. When the nation seeks volunteer recruits for its army and navy, it displays before the youth attractive pictures of military life, of uniforms, brilliant regiments, exploits of adventure and travel. Even the suggestion of danger on the battlefield is a claim upon the valor and gallantry which the republic, symbolized by a female figure, demands of her lovers among brave youth. The same technique of display, invitation, coyness, and modesty appears upon a vast scale when one nation visits another with a fleet of ships or entertains her visitors at a magnificent "world's exposi-

tion." The etiquette of nations is built upon the manners of my lady's drawing room.

The type of social adjustment characteristic of the sexes is still more obvious in religious groups and in the means used by such groups to win the devotion of individuals. Among the members of a religious body there exist ties of spiritual kinship supported by the strongest sentiments. Conspicuous in the phraseology of Christian Churches is that of the family. The Church is the bride of Christ. The members are children of God; brothers and sisters to each other. They are born into this spiritual family, having been conceived by the Holy Spirit. Love is the pervading bond in all these relations. The virtues of Christian character are those which spring from love: sympathy, patience, forgiveness, fidelity, self-sacrifice, charity. The emotional attitudes aroused by the services of the churches are the tender, melting moods in which the will acquiesces in the appeal for love and comradeship.

The derived character of the technique by which religion makes its appeal to the individual is in keeping with the organizing principle of religious groups. Professor Thomas has aptly described this process. "The appeal made during a religious revival to an unconverted person has psychologically some resemblance to the attempt of the male to overcome the hesitancy of the female. In each case the will has to be set aside and strong suggestive means used; and in both cases the appeal is not of the conflict type, but of an intimate, sympathetic and pleading kind. In the effort to make a moral adjustment it consequently turns out that a technique is used which was derived originally from sexual life, and the use, so to speak, of the sexual machinery for a moral adjustment involves, in some cases, the carrying over into the general process of some sexual manifestations. The emotional form used and the emo-

tional states aroused are not entirely stripped of their sexual content.”⁵

This controlling, organizing instinct which emerges with full power in adolescence is accompanied by an awakening of mental life on every side. The senses become more acute; the imagination is developed in new directions, with a scope and energy which often overwhelm the youth in a confusion of aspirations and longings; the will, in the form of urgent ambitions, is roused to resolve upon great enterprises such as patriotic service and social reforms; the intellect is stimulated to great activity, to criticism, analysis, careful reasoning and often to constructive production. It is the period of idealism, the age in which the ends set up for attainment are remote and vast. These ends are also ideal in the sense of being altruistic and disinterested. The same disregard of mere personal comfort or success which leads the youth to give himself with such abandon to win a lady's hand, is shown in devotion to other interests in which his will is once enlisted. The statistics concerning the aspirations of youth show that the tendency to go outside personal knowledge and choose historical and public characters as ideals was greatly augmented at puberty, when also the heroes of philanthropy showed marked gain in prominence.⁶ Earl Barnes remarks significantly, “No one can consider the regularity with which local ideals die out and are replaced by world ideals without feeling that he is in the presence of law-abiding forces.” Dr. Thurber's replies from thousands of children in New York with reference to what they wanted to do when grown showed that “the desire for character increased throughout, but rapidly after twelve, and the impulse to do good to the world, which had risen slowly from nine, mounted sharply after thirteen.” From his survey of many investi-

⁵ Thomas: *Sex and Society*, 115 f.

⁶ G. S. Hall: *Adolescence*, II, 387. Summarizes studies by Earl Barnes, Thurber, Kline.

gations, G. Stanley Hall concludes that with reference to the choice of ideals during childhood and youth: "Civic virtues certainly rise; material and utilitarian considerations do not seem to rise much, if at all, at adolescence, and in some data decline. Position, fame, honor, and general greatness increase rapidly, but moral qualities rise highest and also fastest just before and near puberty and continue to increase later yet. By these choices both sexes, but girls far most, show increasing admiration of ethical and social qualities."⁷

By reason of instinctive awakening to the larger social interests, and by virtue of greater mental power for forming and following comprehensive ideals, youth is the period for the choice of life-occupations, for the development of patriotism, social reforms and religious enthusiasms. At this age the whole nature is full of energy which creates boundless faith in the possibility of wonderful achievements. Idealism, in the strict sense, that is, vital interest in distant and difficult, even utopian humanitarian enterprises, is natural to this age. There is great enthusiasm for heroes, patriots, and religious leaders. It is the time when youths enlist in the army, when they devote themselves to social service, to foreign missions and to philanthropy and charity.

A general summary of this discussion may be briefly made. There is no single instinct or faculty in human nature to which the religious consciousness can be attributed. It is rather the result of the development and interaction of the primal instincts. Such a development is peculiar to man, although he shares these primal instincts with the lower animals. Man possesses a larger brain and more flexible nervous organism through which he is better able to profit by experience. He has gradually attained through a long and tedious process of trial and error, of

⁷ G. Stanley Hall: *Adolescence*, II, 392.

experimentation and reflection, an elaborate equipment of practical wisdom, of tools, inventions and social attitudes in which his native instincts secure an expression and a fulfilment far beyond anything possible for the lower animals. He has substituted for the irregular, uncertain means of securing food in savage life, the settled, dependable processes of agriculture and modern industrialism and business enterprise. He has also discovered the value of cooperative, sympathetic attitudes as contrasted with the clannish, exclusive spirit of earlier stages. Thus the tender, intimate, unifying sentiments are being consciously extended to all human beings without distinction of race or class. There is developing a consciousness within whole nations and within mankind as a world-wide family and brotherhood, the inner, controlling motive of which is the elemental craving for life, but for a life richer and fuller and longer, in which all men everywhere may share. It was in the demands of his group life and in the dramatic ceremonial representations of this corporate life that religion controlled, restrained and elevated the life of primitive man. From the working of this common life sprang his notions of divine beings, and through these notions his ancestral customs and ideals of life were mediated to each generation again. The same psychological process operates to-day increasingly clarified, organized and freed from superstition. Compared with those of early man the supreme ideals of our historic and contemporaneous life are vaster, more attractive, more adjustable to the deep needs of our nature. But whatever the degree of refinement, it is just this elaboration and idealization of the primal instinctive interests and the accompanying sense of supreme values which everywhere constitute the life of religion.

EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES, PH. D.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.